

## “Two wheels bad”? : the status of cycling in the Youth Hostels Association of England and Wales in the 1930s

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**Abstract:** The Youth Hostels Association (YHA) was founded to provide cheap accommodation for rural holidays. It catered for both walkers and cyclists. However, many perceived the organisation as one that favoured walkers, considering walking to be a superior form of travel which was also reflected in YHA policy. Despite this, the YHA had close institutional links with cycling organisations and many cyclists among its members. This article traces the YHA’s relationship with walkers and cyclists and, despite occasional tensions, shows that the two groups could be accommodated within the organisation.

**Keywords:** class, countryside, cycling, leisure, rambling, walking, Youth Hostels

### Introduction: cyclists and walkers

The relationship between cyclists and walkers is clearly a complex one.<sup>1</sup> In certain contexts they may appear as natural allies in the promotion of ‘greener’ and more environmental forms of transportation, whether for commuting or for recreation. This alliance has historically often been forged in response to the domination of the car in transport planning and its domination of physical space. However, at the other end of the spectrum, there have often been tensions between the two groups caused by contesting a shared space. For example, in the British context, there was concern voiced at the time of the cycle boom of the 1890s at the actions of the ‘Scorchers’; those who rode their cycles too fast and without

due concern for others.<sup>2</sup> A stark contemporary example was the death in February 2016 of a pedestrian in London killed when crossing the road by a cyclist on a bike without legal brakes. The coverage of his subsequent trial brought into focus the issue of responsibility and blame in relation to the shared space.<sup>3</sup>

There has been considerable journalistic coverage in the last decade of tensions between walkers and cyclists in spaces designated for both; for example, canal tow-paths, forest trails and bridleways.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, tensions occur because cycling on pavements has become more common, possibly because roads are considered, rightly or wrongly, to be increasingly unsafe.<sup>5</sup> In Britain this is illegal and resented by many pedestrians, whereas cyclists have a right in law or by local agreement to use the other type of routes cited.

These are very general observations and the relations between cyclists and walkers, and perceptions held of them, may vary greatly across time and space. Often, there is no single national picture because planning and provision for non-motorised transport is often made at a local or devolved level. The aim of this article is to offer a case-study of these relations in a specific organisation, the Youth Hostels Association (YHA) of England and Wales, in the first decade of its existence.<sup>6</sup> This is of value because it was the objective of the YHA to cater for both groups which may have presented difficulties and also because little research has been undertaken on the relationship between the constituent groups within the organisation.

## **The YHA and its cultural and social context**

The YHA of England and Wales was founded in 1930. Its objective was “to help all, but especially young people to a greater knowledge, use and love of the countryside, particularly by providing hostels or other simple accommodation for them in their travels.”<sup>7</sup> By September 1939, it had a membership of 83, 418 and a complement of 297 hostels.<sup>8</sup> The establishment and success of the YHA reflected the popularity of recreational walking and cycling in the period, and the organization built upon a pre-existing network of organizations dedicated to the provision of rural leisure and holidays and to the protection or exploration of the countryside.

Members could only travel between hostels under their own steam. Apart from the occasional canoe trip undertaken, in practice this meant either on foot or by bicycle. This was an important aspect of YHA policy, later known as Rule 1, because the founders wanted hostels reserved for those engaging in physical exertion in locomotion; their ‘own steam.’ The significance of this policy is indicated in that when tentative suggestions to amend or revoke it emerged in the late 1950s it provoked heated debate among members, with some traditionalists believing that allowing car or motorcycle travel between hostels was the betrayal of a fundamental principle.<sup>9</sup>

In relation to points raised in the introduction, there were two factors which ostensibly could produce a commonality of interest, or reduce friction, between cyclists and walkers in the YHA. One was that they were on the ‘same side’ in the YHA’s definition of legitimate modes of transport (respecters of Rule 1).<sup>10</sup> The second factor was that, generally, there was not friction over contested space.<sup>11</sup> Although some cyclists would take their machines ‘off road’ and cross mountain passes or use bridleways, most cycling was done on metalled

roads in a period before the advent of the mountain bike and most walkers would use footpaths.

However, despite this and the fact that the YHA catered for both groups, there are some indications that the organization was, or was perceived to be, one that favoured walkers. The purpose of this article is to explore the ways in which this bias was manifested and to explain why, despite this, many cyclists used the hostels and the extent to which there were close links between the YHA and cycling organisations.

Before a consideration of the primary material concerning walkers and cyclists in the YHA, it is necessary to consider some of the cultural attitudes and social divisions relating to walking and cycling in 1930s Britain and how the YHA as a case-study might illuminate aspects of these. As well as domestic links to rambling clubs and preservationist organisations, the YHA was part of an international movement. Many hostelling associations were founded in the 1920s and at the first International Conference, held in the Netherlands in 1932, the representatives of twelve nations attended. The German movement was the earliest founded, in 1909, and had the largest number of hostels. It had a significant impact on the organisation in England and Wales. Virtually every contemporary account of the movement's foundation, whether in the YHA literature or in the commentary of others, mentions the German movement as inspiration.<sup>12</sup> Many important figures in the YHA had walked in Germany and had knowledge of the German organisation. Within the wider rambling movement there were similarities with the German *Wandervögel* movement, which had strong anti-modernist elements which were critical *inter alia* of urbanisation and the speed, noise and routinisation associated with contemporary industrial society. As Trentmann states: "rambling became an antidote to the quickening speed of the modern

machine age, providing the psyche with silence and peace from the urban chaos.”<sup>13</sup> This cultural disposition tended to view walking as a natural, and therefore good, activity and the German movement was more focused on walking than cycling. It is, of course, difficult to know how widespread these sentiments were but they were held by Richard Schirrmann, the founder of the German movement, and a well-known and well-respected figure in the movement in England and Wales. In an article published in the YHA magazine *Rucksack*, Schirrmann claimed that “...to travel on foot through the countryside is to live.”<sup>14</sup> As will be seen in the next section, a cultural preference for walking was found in some of the leading figures of the YHA.<sup>15</sup>

An emphasis on the ‘naturalness’ of walking and its location within a broader anti-urban and anti-modern disposition was clearly present in the YHA and can be linked to a preference, for some members, for walking over cycling. However, there were two other important aspects of the ethos of the YHA which could act as countervailing tendencies. One was an emphasis on inclusiveness and a dislike of social distinction and snobbery. This was manifested in the importance of the physical space of the Common Room which all hostels had and which drew upon the same space in Educational Settlements; both this movement of adult education and the YHA being heavily influenced by Quakerism.<sup>16</sup> In his 1950 history of the movement, Coburn described the Common Room thus: “this is the environment in which all classes and types can mingle successfully, the son of an employer with the son of an employee, the labourer and the clerk, the countryman and the townsman, the shy (now emboldened) and the hearty, the young and the old.”<sup>17</sup> If this inclusiveness and egalitarianism was to be respected, it would preclude a pejorative view of cycling or cyclists. The second aspect of YHA ethos relevant here is the concept of ‘respectability.’ In the

context of the YHA, this related to an expectation that members would act properly in two spheres; in the hostel by observing rules regarding, for example, 'lights out' times and the proscription on alcohol and in the countryside by respecting nature and following the developing Countryside Codes. The YHA had very few disciplinary problems which indicates that it attracted members who accepted this ethos and embraced, or tolerated, such prescriptions and proscriptions.<sup>18</sup> Again, this shared ethos would tend to unite walker and cyclist members rather than foster divisions between them.

To conclude, the argument above is that there were potentially contradictory currents in the YHA. It was informed by anti-modern cultural dispositions which, for some, elevated walking over cycling as a recreational mode. However the inclusiveness of the organisation and its appeal to those who embraced the correct behaviour acted as countervailing tendencies which emphasised the commonalities of walking and cycling members rather than differences.

A second important concept to consider is that of class and how it might influence or impinge upon possible divisions between cyclists and walkers. Class is potentially important because many texts in social history and the history of leisure use the concept in the study of walking and cycling. For context, a general overview of the class position of the two groups will be followed by a review of the class composition of the YHA. It should be noted that there is no comprehensive data on the class position of the large numbers who rambled or hiked in the 1930s; one estimate putting the figure at half a million.<sup>19</sup> On the basis of the secondary literature, three generalisations can be made. First, it was an activity in which both the middle classes and working class engaged.<sup>20</sup> Second, rambling groups in the North of England tended to be more working class in composition than their southern

counterparts, reflecting the demographics and social composition of England. Third, the working-class members of northern groups tended to come from the more skilled and affluent sections of that class. For example, Holt claims that the composition of interwar organised rambling was principally lower-middle and upper-working class and Trentmann identifies “skilled workers, artisans and subordinate professionals” as the main components of the open-air movement who were reacting to changing labour practices and a reduction of autonomy in the workplace.<sup>21</sup>

According to Taylor, in the 1930s cycling was a predominantly working-class pastime.<sup>22</sup> By 1938, membership of cycling clubs was approximately 60,000, although it is likely that many recreational cyclists did not join cycling clubs.<sup>23</sup> The largest organisation was the Cyclists’ Touring Club (CTC) which had 30, 000 members in 1933 and 36, 000 by 1937.<sup>24</sup> Its membership was principally lower- middle class and, according to Taylor, the CTC was marked by a “continuing hint of élitism” because of a policy of vetting potential new applicants which may have deterred some from applying to join.<sup>25</sup> This observation mirrors the dislike that Benny Rothman, famous for the British Workers’ Sports Federation-led trespass on Kinder Scout in 1932, had for many rambling clubs whose bourgeois ‘feel’ or ethos did not appeal to the working class.<sup>26</sup> The next largest organisation was the National Cyclists’ Union (NCU) which was more concerned with road racing and record-setting than the CTC although there was some overlap in the organisations’ activities.<sup>27</sup> The most notable of the cycling clubs linked to a political movement was the Clarion Cycling Club whose membership peaked at approximately 7,500 in 1937.<sup>28</sup> The Clarion organisation combined socialist propaganda work with recreational cycling and had a more hedonistic outlook than the sober-minded and rather puritan ethos of the YHA.<sup>29</sup> Jones states that there is a lack of

evidence of the class base of Clarion membership although “it is a safe bet that members were drawn from the working class, albeit labour aristocrats and white-collar workers.”<sup>30</sup>

The inclusion of white-collar workers as part of the working class here suggests that the manual worker composition of the Clarion Cyclists was probably relatively low. All three of these organisations were affiliated to the YHA at various times in the 1930s; however, as will be discussed below, the closest links were with the CTC.

It would appear likely that working-class walkers and cyclists were underrepresented in clubs and organisations and this appears to be the case for the YHA. Jones claims that approximately one-third of YHA members were manual workers but the evidence cited for this is unconvincing.<sup>31</sup> Discussion within the YHA itself would suggest that YHA membership of the 1930s was disproportionately from the lower-middle class and that the unskilled working class was underrepresented in membership. In November 1937, the General Development Committee agreed that a letter be drafted to regions along the following lines: “the Executive Committee of the YHA is concerned that the Association is not developing among the lower-paid wage-earners, and it urges Regions to seek every means of bringing the opportunities afforded by the YHA to the notice of suitable organisations.”<sup>32</sup> In 1938, an editorial in *The Rucksack* entitled “Are we Black-Coated Snobs?” reflected on the lower-middle class orientation of the movement.<sup>33</sup> The strong ethos of respectability in the YHA may have discouraged a larger working-class membership among those who preferred more hedonistic holidays.<sup>34</sup>

These YHA reflections did not distinguish between cyclists and walkers. Although not all cyclists who used Youth Hostels were members of the CTC there were, as detailed below,



close institutional links. This would suggest that the class position of members of the YHA and the CTC and walkers and cyclists in the YHA was not markedly different.

### **The question of numbers**

The evidence, though not wholly conclusive, is that walkers and cyclists in the YHA were predominately lower-middle class and 'respectable' and therefore if a bias, however defined, towards walkers existed it was not based on class. One plausible explanation might be that walkers predominated and constituted a large majority in the organisation. This could explain both why the YHA was seen, as discussed below, as a walkers' organisation and why its policy interventions focused on areas of walkers' concerns. However, there are not precise figures for the relative proportion of walkers and cyclists and, clearly, some members could be both. Membership was recorded by sex and age and no official record was kept of mode of transport. Some regions did keep a record of bed nights of walkers and cyclists but this would not necessarily indicate relative membership numbers as one group might use hostels much more frequently than the other.

Some estimates can be found in the literature by or about the YHA although it is unclear how reliable they are. In the 1950 history of the YHA's early years, Coburn states that walkers and cyclists joined in "almost equal numbers."<sup>35</sup> A similar estimate is found in Maurice-Jones and Porter who claim that "in the early years cyclists were about 50% of all hostel users."<sup>36</sup> In an article published in the *Rucksack* in 1937, T. A. Leonard, a vice-president and pioneer of the rural holiday movement, stated that half the membership consisted of cyclists.<sup>37</sup> In an article in the CTC magazine *CTC Gazette* in 1933, Briercliffe, a

supporter of the YHA and the author of popular cycle touring guides in the 1940s, claimed that cyclists were “without doubt the most numerous section” of the community using hostels and in the mid-1930s it was estimated that thirty per cent of the users of North Wales hostels were cyclists.<sup>38</sup>

An additional problem with estimates is that some were based on regional impressions. The YHA was a decentralised organisation and between 1932 and the end of the 1930s there were between sixteen and twenty-one regional groups. Although there is no way to measure accurately, it is quite plausible that some regions had a much higher proportion of walkers or cyclists than others. Briercliffe was the delegate of the Manchester District Association of CTC to the Manchester regional council of the YHA so it is possible that his estimate was based on that area and would not accurately represent the national picture.

An indication of regional disparity is that in 1937/38 over eighty per cent of bed nights in the Cambridge and District Region were cyclists which was to be expected given the distance between hostels in that region and in the late 1930s cyclists predominated in the East Anglia region, possibly its relative flatness being an attraction, whereas in the same period bed nights in the London Region were split almost equally between walkers and cyclists.<sup>39</sup> In the North Midlands region approximately forty per cent of bed nights were cyclists in 1934/35 and fifty five per cent in 1936/37.<sup>40</sup>

In short, the patchy evidence suggests that cyclists formed a substantial part of the membership, perhaps around half. If this is the case, then a pro-walker bias or disposition in the movement cannot be simply explained by a predominance of walkers.

Second, as will be discussed below, there is evidence from some articles and correspondence that tensions existed between walkers and cyclists and that some

commentators believed that walkers saw themselves, or their mode of locomotion, as superior to that of cyclists or cycling. It is interesting to record these impressions; however it is impossible to know if they are representative. There is no comprehensive documentary record of the opinions that walkers held of cyclists, if any at all, or *vice versa*. There are some suggestions that walkers and cyclists tended to self-segregate at the larger hostels but, again, it is difficult to know if this was a widespread or consistent pattern.

### **An organisation for walkers?**

Bearing these methodological and evidential issues in mind, the following section will examine the evidence for a pro-walking bias in the organization. This will be done through a consideration of four areas; the dispositions and statements of leading figures, the literature of the YHA, the press response to its formation and the policy interventions of the YHA.

As outlined above, there was a belief found in some organisations and held by some individuals, both in Britain and other European countries, that walking was a superior form of exercise. This was often linked to the idea that it was 'natural' and hence superior to the use of mechanisation which cycling involved and this disposition reflected an anti – modernist tendency often found in the walking movement.<sup>41</sup> Additionally, the pace of walking was to be valued. Both Trentmann and Snape emphasise this and the Snape example is pertinent because his article concerns the Co-operative Holidays Association (CHA) which was founded by T. A. Leonard who was, as mentioned above, one of four vice-presidents of the YHA in the 1930s.<sup>42</sup> In the CHA, "...walking was widely considered superior to cycling because its slower pace encouraged a reflective appreciation of one's surroundings and thus a cultural contextualisation of the countryside traversed."<sup>43</sup> Walking

in the CHA was located within a wider set of cultural practices which included the promotion of a knowledge and appreciation of nature and natural history which found echoes in the aims of the YHA.

Some leading members of the YHA endorsed these dispositions, although it is important to note that their statements often endorsed the legitimacy and benefits of cycling which can be read as an attempt at 'balance' and a wish to avoid alienating members who cycled. In a letter to *Rucksack* in 1937, Leonard advised cycling members to "...give their cycles a few days rest each week and discover the joys of walking and climbing hills" and in the following edition he spoke of the monotony of the machine and cyclists "...doomed by custom to be always speeding along the noisy highway."<sup>44</sup>

Another vice-president of the YHA in the 1930s was the Archbishop of York, William Temple. In the foreword to the 1934 Handbook for members, he claimed that the "beauty of nature can only be seen by those who walk" and that "the problems of our hectic civilisation may yet be solved by the walkers; solvuntur ambulando."<sup>45</sup> In an address to the annual National Council meeting in York in March 1939 Temple strove for the balance alluded to above but seemed to indicate a preference for walking and this is reproduced verbatim to give a flavour. "There are some people who only walk: that is all right. There are some people who only cycle, and that *may* be all right, but the people who do both I am sure have the best of it." This was because cycling increased the area one could access for walking. He then continues: "but so far as I talk about anything in particular, it is going to be about walking, because I am sure that walking is the *real* way that men ought to go about, and it is only the wretched hurry of these days that makes it difficult."<sup>46</sup> He then concluded that walking creates fellowship and understanding and it was very likely that cycling does as well.

G. M. Trevelyan, who was Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, was president of the YHA and a famous advocate of walking, although he also invokes balance.<sup>47</sup> In the Handbook of 1931 of the fledgling movement he notes that there is a will to walk and a will to cycle but many lack the means to do so.<sup>48</sup> Addressing the National Council in Oxford in March 1936, he claimed that the healthy hunger of body and mind "...comes from long hours of the walker's rhythmic swing or the cyclist's honest push at the pedal" although he included reference to his preference for solitary walking.<sup>49</sup> The speech was reproduced in *Rucksack* entitled 'Men and Mountains' where he claimed that both walkers and cyclists "tend to be the right sort of people" but also that rock climbing and mountain walking are the "greatest of all sports."<sup>50</sup> At the National Council meeting of 1938, in the context of the National Government's physical fitness campaign, he mentions both walking and cycling as important activities in the promotion of fitness.<sup>51</sup>

H. H. Symonds, who was vice-chair of the National Executive Committee (NEC) from 1933 to 1938, was another significant figure in the YHA who had a preference for walking and he considered mountain walking to be the "best of all pastimes, without controversy or exception."<sup>52</sup> Symonds' commitment to walking is illustrated by his activism in rambling groups, including the presidency of the Ramblers' Association in the 1930s.

To conclude this section, it should be noted that this preference for walking in the YHA should not be overstated. For example, important office holders such as Egerton St John ('Jack') Catchpool who was Honorary Secretary then Secretary of the YHA in the 1930s and Barclay Baron, who was NEC chair from 1930 to 1937, did not express in print support for walking over cycling. However, despite the attempts at balance, the statements of Leonard,

Symonds, Temple, and to a lesser extent Trevelyan, do indicate not only a personal preference for walking but at times imply that it is a superior form of exercise to cycling.

The latter three are connected by their 'elite' educational background. Symonds attended Rugby School and Oriel College, Oxford, Temple attended Rugby and Balliol College, Oxford and Trevelyan attended Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. Temple and Trevelyan both feature in Wiener's book as examples of a British elite which disdained industry and modernity.<sup>53</sup> Symonds, Temple and Trevelyan are also roughly contemporaries, being born in 1885, 1881 and 1876 respectively, and their attitude to walking, and frequently to solitary walking, mark them as later representatives of the early and mid-nineteenth tradition represented in Ruskin and the romantic poets which preceded the more organised and group ethos of rambling groups that emerged around the turn of the century.

The argument that the YHA was an organisation that favoured walkers is also underpinned by aspects of its literature and this is the second theme to be addressed. The Handbook was first published in 1931. Its main purpose was to list hostels, to provide information on how to book and the regulations of the organisation. It also contained cultural commentary on town and country and endorsements for other organisations supported by the YHA. The magazine *Rucksack* was first published in 1932 and contained news of YHA policy, reports from the regions, book reviews and reports on international linkages including hostel restoration and walking trips.<sup>54</sup>

The name of the magazine is revealing as the rucksack is a piece of equipment more associated with walking than cycling, although some cyclists did use them.<sup>55</sup> There is little evidence that the name was controversial; although a correspondent to the *CTC Gazette* in March 1933 deplored the title and felt that those responsible had not realised its

significance. However in 1957 the name was changed to *Youth Hosteller* and the editorial stated that the new title “makes it clear that this magazine is intended for all youth hostellers” which implies that the previous title could have been interpreted as partisan.<sup>56</sup>

The content of the magazine and its illustrations lend support to the idea of a pro-walker bias. The majority of articles related to walking. ‘The Ways of Britain’ was a regular feature which ran from the first edition of *Rucksack* until 1937 with a total of twenty-one in the series. The vast majority of the routes described in the different regions were for walking, although, in the first in the series ‘The Snowdon Circuit’ H. H. Symonds mentions that the Circuit included for “...the mentally deficient, for the despairing, and for the speed-loving cyclist, some main roads.”<sup>57</sup> Later in the decade, articles appeared in support of the access movement which was an issue of concern to ramblers.

The cover of *Rucksack* for the 1932 editions featured a couple walking. In 1933 three guineas was offered for the successful design for the cover of the 1934 editions. Regulation Four of the competition stated: “the subject or motif should be an open-air one, and competitors introducing figures should remember that YHA embraces both walking and cycling interests.”<sup>58</sup> The 1934 cover shows both walkers and cyclists looking at a map. However in 1934 the competition is run again but the clause “...and competitors...” is omitted as though cyclists’ sensibilities had been downgraded. The 1935 and 1936 covers show walkers only, the covers for 1937 and 1938 show neither but have landscapes without figures. In 1939 four different photographs were used for the four editions; three featured walkers and one featured a cyclist.

Another example of the visual prominence of walkers was the commemorative plate produced for the Third International Youth Hostel Conference held in England in 1934. The

plate had an image of two walkers and around the perimeter the words: `solvitur ambulando: Youth Hostel Associations International Conference 1934.' The phrase can be translated as "it will be solved by walking" and was attributed to the philosopher Diogenes and invoked by Temple.

The orientation towards walkers did not pass without comment although it is not clear how many members or regions were exercised by this issue. In March 1933, the Executive Committee unanimously carried a motion from the London Regional Group to recommend to National Council that "in future both cycling and walking interests be equally represented on official literature particularly in regard to any illustrations."<sup>59</sup> It is not clear whether this was realised as in February 1937 the London Regional Group tabled a very similar motion which was approved by the Executive Committee.<sup>60</sup> In late 1936, the Executive Committee discussed a motion from Yorkshire (Central) Regional Group which claimed that posters to be exhibited on boards which had been set up by the then-defunct Empire Marketing Board had no appeal to cyclists and would not encourage them to join the YHA.<sup>61</sup> The motion urged the National Executive to produce a poster of special appeal to cyclists with which regional groups could approach cycle dealers and ask them to exhibit. In early 1937 Executive Committee recorded that 2000 posters had been ordered at a cost of £13<sup>62</sup> and that 2000 YHA pennants for cyclists were to be ordered at a cost of 7 1/4d and for sale at 1s.<sup>63</sup> In 1938, *Rucksack* published a letter which claimed that the "whole movement seems to be run by those who turn a blind eye to the cyclist..." and "...all references to cyclists seem to be censored. Are we ashamed of them, or is it a case of not wanting them?"<sup>64</sup> However, the author gives no grounds for his claim and does not expand on why cyclists might be ignored or marginalised.



Whether or not the literature of the YHA intended to present the idea that it was an organisation principally for walkers, there is some evidence that it was perceived thus by those outside the organisation. The press coverage, both local and national, in 1930 and 1931, the formative years of the YHA, routinely used headlines such as “Pedestrian Hostels”, “Hostels for Hikers”, “Hikers’ Hostels” and “Hostels for Ramblers” and frequently failed to mention that the YHA was an organisation for cyclists as well.<sup>65</sup>

A fourth area that indicates that walkers and walking were given priority over cyclists and cycling is the policy interventions of the YHA. The YHA had charitable status and was a non-political organisation. However, it had, through affiliation, links to many groups involved either in the promotion of leisure or the defence of the countryside. This meant that the YHA did not stay aloof and detached from the politics surrounding these issues. Two principal points should be noted here; as the decade progressed the YHA became more involved in these issues and these were almost entirely related to walkers’ interests.<sup>66</sup> At local level, many YHA regional groups had close links with rambling groups and many had emerged from, or been helped by, such groups. From 1938, there were calls for closer links with the Ramblers’ Association (RA). These included financial support for footpath survey work, map libraries, production of footpath maps and walking tour itineraries. In November 1938, the Finance Committee recommended a donation of £10 to the RA, and a further one of £25 in 1939 with the regions being asked to find another £25.<sup>67</sup> In February 1939, the Executive Committee noted with satisfaction that a number (unspecified) of Regional Associations had agreed to make financial contributions to the RA.<sup>68</sup>

The biggest issue for rambling organisations in the late 1930s was the question of access with a new bill being presented to parliament in 1938. The YHA supported the bill with

ramblers' groups until it was emasculated through amendments.<sup>69</sup> Prominent in the campaign for the YHA to support access were important members who also held posts in the RA; including Tom Stephenson, a journalist who promoted the idea of the Pennine Way, Tom Fairclough, Leonard and Symonds.

There are various ways to explain the policy bias towards the interests of walkers rather than cyclists. One is that important activists and office holders in the YHA were disproportionately walkers or felt that walkers needed their support. Some light is thrown on the issue in a paper written by Herbert Gatliff. Gatliff, who was taught by Symonds at Rugby, a graduate of Balliol College, Oxford and a civil servant, was a long-serving activist in the London Region and a member of various national committees. In June 1938, he presented 'Co-operation with other (Non YHA) Bodies' to the London Regional Group. In it he argued that the YHA should co-operate with all bodies as it was both a rambling and cycling organisation. However, ramblers' organisations might require more help than cycling or camping organisations because of lack of resources and because they did work which benefitted hostellers for which it was not easy to charge, for example footpath maintenance and defending rights of way. Additionally, it seems that cycling had not sought support from other organisations. "If any sort of Committee of the various Cycling organisations were appointed, to deal with particular problems, the YHA might be associated with it and contribute something to it. I'm not aware of any sort at the moment; what cyclists do ask is that adequate weight should be given to their needs and outlook in YHA policy and development."<sup>70</sup>

Gatliff's paper had no official status in relation to YHA policy but may indicate something about policy priorities. Based on material in the *CTC Gazette*, by far the most significant

issue for recreational cyclists in the 1930s was the large number of deaths and injuries caused by car drivers and the tendency of coroners to record verdicts of accidental death and a more general disregard for cyclists' safety. However there is no mention of this carnage and the campaigns against it in YHA literature. This may reflect, as Gatliff suggests, that the CTC and other cycling groups did not attempt to mobilise the YHA or walking groups in support of their campaigns. Additionally, though this is hard to prove conclusively, the close links between YHA office holders and rambling groups may have predisposed the organisation to focus upon the policy concerns of walkers rather than those of cyclists.

In conclusion, there is evidence that some of the leading figures in the YHA thought walking to be a superior type of activity to cycling, that the literature of the YHA in the 1930s had a pro-walking orientation and that the policy interventions and priorities of the YHA favoured walkers' issues. However, cyclists and cycling organisations maintained strong links with the YHA and the nature and extent of these will now be considered.

### **Cyclists, cycling and the YHA**

Both the principal cycling organisations, the CTC and the NCU had links with the YHA. After the YHA Open Council meeting of June 1930 at Welwyn Garden City to encourage and facilitate supporters and affiliates of the new movement, the NCU requested representation on the Council. A sub-committee meeting of the YHA argued that it should not differentiate between the NCU and other road users' groups although the NCU was mainly concerned with 'stunt' racing. The NCU thought such a categorisation was insulting; perhaps because although it organised racing it also offered touring itineraries and insurance among other

benefits to members. It is perhaps revealing that the NCU was perceived in this way because, despite the overlap alluded to above, there was often a perception of the NCU as a 'racers' club and less compatible with the YHA than the less- hurried touring orientation of the CTC.<sup>71</sup> The YHA Secretary met with Mr Crowe, Secretary of the NCU, to smooth things over and the NCU was affiliated to the National Council from 1931 throughout the 1930s.

The CTC was an early affiliate to the YHA and was supportive of it in various ways. In 1932 the CTC gave two small mirrors to each youth hostel and a meeting of the YHA Executive Committee in January 1933 noted, along with other organisations, the "splendid financial assistance" of the CTC which included a £35 special donation.<sup>72</sup> The CTC also offered practical help in the provision of accommodation for meetings and the 1937 Annual Report of the YHA National Council noted with thanks that over 100 committee meetings of the YHA had been held at the headquarters of the CTC in Paddington, London.<sup>73</sup> In a reflection on the early years of the YHA written in 1950, John Major, chair of the NEC between 1937 and 1939, records the contribution of the CTC.<sup>74</sup>

The most significant figure in the links between the two organisations was Nevill Whall. Whall was a leading cycling journalist under the *nom de plume* 'Hodites' and was assistant secretary of the CTC from 1923 and throughout the 1930s. He was elected to the NEC of the YHA in April 1930 and served throughout the decade, was chair of the YHA finance committee from 1932 to 1938 and was vice-chair of the NEC for eight years from 1938 and became a vice-president in 1947. Whall is credited by some with allaying concerns about the anti-cyclist tendencies within the YHA. A *CTC Gazette* editorial of August 1931 claimed that "...the fact that the Club has a founder's interest in the Youth Hostels Association and a voice on the executive may be of vital importance in the future."<sup>75</sup> Coburn, having noted

some rivalry in the early days between walkers and cyclists, claims that “with Mr Whall, Assistant Secretary of the Cyclists’ Touring Club, on the National Executive, cyclists felt more confident that their interests were safe.”<sup>76</sup> However, Coburn does not provide evidence for this position and a rather different perspective is given by Gatliff. Gatliff claimed that Whall did not push cyclists’ issues as he was anxious to appear impartial.<sup>77</sup> Gatliff’s opinion may be based on a letter he received from Whall in May 1937 in which Whall spoke of axe-grinding in the YHA and “for that reason I have always definitely preferred to keep the cycling axe blunt than attempt to grind it and join the undesirable throng!”<sup>78</sup>

It is unclear whether Whall did win round those sceptical about, or opposed to, the YHA in its early years. What is clear is that discussion and debate about the YHA ended in the *CTC Gazette* after 1934. Before this date, some contributors thought that the advent of the YHA would encourage cycling and boost membership of the CTC while others believed that the YHA would provide competition for guest houses and Bed and Breakfasts which advertised in the CTC handbook and thus should be opposed.<sup>79</sup> The cycling journalist Fitzwater Wray (*nom de plume* ‘Kuklos’), a vice president of the CTC, was initially critical of the YHA because he had been associated with an earlier movement, the Wayfarers Hostels Association Provisional Committee, which he felt had been sidelined by the YHA.<sup>80</sup> By 1934, for some reason, he had changed his mind as he published ‘A Cyclist’s Foreword’ in *Rucksack* which endorsed the YH movement.<sup>81</sup> When Wray died in December 1938, the YHA recorded that “his death robs the YHA of a good friend.”<sup>82</sup>

In August 1931, following a radio appeal on behalf of the YHA by Barclay Baron, chair of the NEC, William Robinson (*nom de plume* ‘Wayfarer’) had a letter published which described YHs as “fourpenny doss-houses” and claimed consideration must be shown for those who

ran rest-houses for cyclists.<sup>83</sup> This provoked a response, possibly by Whall, defending the standards of hostels and advocating them for cyclists. The majority of further correspondence was critical of Robinson accusing him of snobbery and arguing the need for cheap accommodation and support for the YH movement.

In response to a letter about the pro-walking image of the YHA in January 1933, the editor conceded that the YHA came from a movement more associated with walking than cycling and would probably remain so. However “Youth Hostels provide a class of accommodation hitherto unknown in this country, and the Club has endeavoured to encourage and facilitate the use of these establishments by C. T. C. members.”<sup>84</sup>

As well as national affiliation, there were strong regional links between the YHA and the CTC and, to a lesser extent, the NCU. This suggested that the opponents of, or sceptics towards, the YHA were in the minority after the early 1930s or even from the YHA’s foundation. The detail of some of the regional links will now be considered. From a sample of twelve regions, the annual reports or committee minutes of eight regions reveal that district associations of the CTC were affiliated as were some other cycling clubs. The other four regions did not produce detailed reports or minutes so it is unclear whether cycling clubs were affiliated or not. As well as affiliation, there is evidence of co-operation with cycling groups at ‘grassroots’ level with varying degrees of success. In Birmingham, the initial meeting with Jack Catchpool in October 1930 to establish YHs in the Birmingham and Midlands area was attended by Mr Gardener of the CTC and the CTC affiliated from 1931 and between 1936 and 1938 (the aptly-named) Mrs Sadler represented the National Clarion Cycling Club on the council of the Birmingham YHA Regional Group. Other cycling-related activities included the distribution of YHA literature at cycle rallies, articles submitted to cycling magazines

promoting the YHA to cyclists and promotional posters to be sold at 2d to cycle dealers. In 1933 a joint dance was held with the Birmingham CTC which, besides making a profit “...strengthened the mutual good will (sic) between the two Associations” and this was repeated in 1934.<sup>85</sup> It was noted in 1937 that this co-operation could not be repeated as the YHA could not guarantee 100 ticket sales for the event which the CTC wanted.<sup>86</sup>

In January 1931, the Central Council of the YHA, which included Whall of the CTC and Grove of the NCU, held a meeting to plan the formation of a London Regional Group. By 1934 the Metropolitan, Bedfordshire and South Bucks CTC district associations were affiliated and a fourth, West Kent, by 1937. The London Centre of the NCU was affiliated by 1937 as was a group called the Camden Wheelers. The London Regional Group seemed sensitive to cyclists’ issues as there was discussion, mirroring that at national level discussed above, about the representation of cyclists in publicity and other literature. It was noted at a Regional Handbook Sub-Committee meeting in September 1937 that the cover should show both a walker and a cyclist if this could be done without upsetting the balance of the design.<sup>87</sup>

Affiliates of the Manchester Regional Group of the YHA included Manchester and North Lancs. CTC, the Manchester Centre and North Lancs. Centre of the NCU and, in the mid - 1930s, the Burnley United Temperance Cycling Club and the Manchester YMCA Bicycle Club. The Group also liaised with cycling rallies to promote the YHA. In South Wales, from 1933 until the end of the 1930s, the Cardiff and South Wales CTC district associations and the Port Talbot Wheelers’ CC were affiliated to the YHA as was the Celtic Cycling Club of Maesteg, however apparently only for 1934. A CTC representative of the West Yorkshire Association attended the inaugural meeting of the West Riding Region of the YHA held in

Leeds in November 1930 and in the early 1930s the Mid Yorkshire CTC and the Leeds Vegetarian Cycling Club were affiliates. Early initiatives relating to publicity included sending information to the journal *Cycling* as well as to two rambling journals. The Teesside and Eskdale Regional Committee was formed in April 1931 (from 1933 renamed the Wear, Tees and Eskdale Regional Group) and included a CTC representative. At various times in the 1930s, the CTC district associations of Darlington, Hartlepool and West Hartlepool were affiliated and others affiliates included the Darlington Centre and North Yorkshire and South Durham Centre of the NCU, the Middlesbrough Co-operative Cycling Club and the Stockton Wheelers, the Ferryhill Wheelers and the Thornaby Wheelers. Representatives on the Lakeland Region Council in 1933 included those from the CTC district associations of Fylde, Preston and North-West Lancashire and the Lancaster Cycling Club.

This sample covers a wide geographical area and provides evidence that affiliation of the CTC to YHA regional groups was the rule rather than the exception and often other smaller, local cycling groups affiliated. Information about the extent and form of relations and joint enterprises is much more patchy but clearly some existed. As indicated above, where regional groups kept a breakdown of use by the two groups, the pattern reveals a considerable number of bed nights by cyclists. The extent of affiliation and usage suggests that cyclists, at 'grassroots' level, were not alienated from the YHA despite the evidence presented above that both the literature of the organisation and its policy orientation favoured the walker.

A possible explanation for this ostensible tension or contradiction is that many cyclists in the YHA, whether in the CTC or not, either did not know about the literature of the YHA and its policy orientation or did know but did not care. There was a strong ethos of activism and



volunteering in the YHA, informed by the concept of service in Quakerism whose members had a large influence on the early years of the organisation.<sup>88</sup> However, the majority of members were not in local groups and did not take part in committee work or other aspects of regional organisation. An editorial in *Rucksack* in 1939 recorded how difficult it was to get members interested in YHA affairs, let alone problems outside.<sup>89</sup> The YHA reflected and reflects the trends in other non-commercial, mass-membership organisations, such as the National Trust, Trade Unions and political parties, in which the large majority of 'paid-up' members take little interest or active role in the administration of the organisation. Youth Hostels offered cheap and clean accommodation for rural holidays and it is probable, although hard to prove definitively, that many cyclists (and walkers) who used this provision had little interest in the wider cultural and political orientations of the YHA or in participating in its administration.

A final aspect to consider in the relationship between walkers and cyclists in the YHA is one of status. In 1938 a letter from an H.J. Hammett was published in *Rucksack* which claimed that walkers and cyclists constituted two distinct groups. Cyclists stayed up late, were highly-strung and engaged in horseplay. To improve relations cyclists should stop trying to look tough and walkers should stop being superior. "For the Lord's sake let Shakespeare rest in peace, and leave opera at Covent Garden or Sadler's Wells."<sup>90</sup> The editor issued a disclaimer, although whether because he thought such claims were wrong or because he thought they could fuel tensions between walkers and cyclists is not clear. A letter the following year denounced Hammett for fanning the embers and claimed the YHA had helped to break down prejudices and misunderstandings between walkers and cyclists and was one of the few arenas in which they came together.<sup>91</sup> Hammett's views may be

unrepresentative but are interesting in that they attribute to walkers a degree of cultural sophistication not exhibited by cyclists. There are resonances of this claim in two letters by 'PKH' to the *CTC Gazette*. In the first, he (she?) complained of 'hikers' taking over the haunts of cyclists and that "the majority of them look down their noses when they meet cyclists."<sup>92</sup> In the second, he stated that he did not consider common cause could be made by the Rambler and cyclist against the motorist: "...hiking as a pastime in the North of England leaves no doubts in my mind as to its claim to social superiority over cycling."<sup>93</sup> A rejoinder appeared in December 1931 when a T. P. Keeley noted: "I think 'PKH' is hardly correct in stating rambling is regarded as having a social superiority over cycling. The superiority is only claimed by the genuine tramper for his own hobby against the cyclists."<sup>94</sup> He does not elaborate on what a genuine tramper is but clearly points to divisions within the walking movement and claims that snobbery and social distinction are to be found within the CTC.

The principal point to highlight from this section is that, despite occasional and not always well-evidenced claims of a cultural division between walkers and cyclists, it is clear that there were strong links between cycling organisations and the YHA in the majority of its regions.

## **Conclusion**

There is clear evidence that the YHA in the 1930s often gave the impression of being a walkers' organisation. Its policy interventions, its publicity and literature and the locomotive preferences of at least some of its prominent members gave priority to walking over cycling. Given the importance of class in British social history, it should be emphasised that this does

not appear to be a class distinction as the class profile of walkers and cyclists in the YHA was broadly similar. It is more related to the belief by some that walking was a superior mode of locomotion and, in relation to policy, that cyclists had other organisations to prosecute their interests.

However, what also needs to be emphasised is that cyclists were a significant body within the YHA despite, in some contexts, seeming to appear as 'second class citizens.' Arguably, the YHA was somewhat contradictory in that co-existing with this status of cyclists, on the 'credit side' cyclists had the virtue of travelling 'under their own steam' so there was a certain commonality of interest with the walker and the cyclists who used the YHA largely endorsed its ethos of respectability.

Perhaps one should not necessarily consistency in attitude and ethos within a large organisation like the YHA. If some in the YHA looked down on cycling (more than on cyclists), and some cyclists resented this there was also a mutually beneficial practical relationship. The finances of the YHA were precarious in its early years and the revenue from cyclist members was useful to the organisation and for the cyclists the appeal of a network of cheap accommodation and CTC endorsement was sufficient inducement for membership of the organisation in significant numbers.

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## Notes

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<sup>2</sup> See, for example, W. Manners, “Scorchers v cycle haters: how Victorian cyclists were also vilified in the press”, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/bike-blog/2015/oct/29/scorchers-cycle-hat> ... (accessed 6 July 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Letters, *Guardian*, 6 September 2017, 28.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion on how to manage these spaces, see Phil Jones Associates: Transport Planning Consultants. “Sustrans. The Merits of Segregated and Non-Segregated Traffic-Free Paths.” (A Literature-Based Review. Updated Report, August 2011).

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<http://docplayer.net/518746-Sustrans-the-merits-of-segregated-anc> (accessed 7 September 2017).

<sup>5</sup> On the topic of the dangers of cycling and perceptions thereof, see D. Horton, "Fear of Cycling" 133-152 in D. Horton, P. Rosen and P. Cox (eds), *Cycling and Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Word limits and linguistic issues prevent a comparative study; however, in principle, a similar study could be made of other national Youth Hostel organisations.

<sup>7</sup> H. Maurice-Jones and L. Porter, *The Spirit of YHA* (Private publication, 2008), 45.

<sup>8</sup> Youth Hostels Association, Annual Report, 1939. (Y440001, YHA archive, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham. All references hereafter Y... refer to this archive).

<sup>9</sup> See E. Catchpool (former National Secretary), "The Old Order Changeth..", *The Youth Hosteller* 27, no. 11, 1959 and the correspondence in editions of *The Youth Hosteller* 1960-1963 (Y500001).

<sup>10</sup> In 1927, the cycling journalist, Fitzwater Wray ('Kuklos') had published "Thirty Nine Articles of his Faith." One of these was the use of one's own power "as economically or prodigally as you please." Cited in F. Alderson, *Bicycling: a history* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), 153.

<sup>11</sup> There could be competition over access to funds for e.g. infrastructural development but this does not appear to have been of much significance (see section 'cyclists, cycling and the YHA' below).

<sup>12</sup> See chapter 1 of O. Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story: the first twenty years in England and Wales* (London: National Council of Social Service, 1950).

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<sup>13</sup> F. Trentmann, "Civilization and its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture", *Journal of Contemporary History* 29, no. 4 (1994): 583-625, 587.

<sup>14</sup> R. Schirrmann, "Departure and Return", *Rucksack* 3, no. 1 (1935), 3. Emphasis in original (Y500001).

<sup>15</sup> For more on the cultural meanings of walking, see R. Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (London: Verso, 2001) and J. Amato, *On foot: a history of walking* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> M. Cunningham, "Ethos and Politics in the Youth Hostels Association (YHA) in the 1930s", *Contemporary British History* 30, no. 2 (2016): 177-202; M. Freeman, "Fellowship, service and the 'spirit of adventure': the Religious Society of Friends and the outdoors movement in Britain c. 1900-1950", *Quaker Studies* 14 (2009): 72-92.

<sup>17</sup> Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, 176.

<sup>18</sup> The YHA Annual Report of 1935 recorded that no breaches of discipline 'of consequence' had been reported to the NEC (Y440001). The item on discipline does not appear in later Annual Reports which suggests that it was not a problem.

<sup>19</sup> S. G. Jones, *Sport, politics and the working class: organised labour and sport in inter-war Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 141.

<sup>20</sup> J. Burchardt, *Paradise Lost: rural idyll and social change since 1800* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 57.

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<sup>21</sup> A. Holt, "Hikers and Ramblers: Surviving a Thirties' Fashion", *International Journal of the History of Sport* 4, no. 1 (1987): 56-76, 59; Trentmann, "Civilization and its Discontents", 590.

<sup>22</sup> H. Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside: A History of the British Outdoor Movement* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997), 248.

<sup>23</sup> Figure from Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside*, 232.

<sup>24</sup> P. Cox, "'A Denial of Our Boasted Civilisation': Cyclists' Views on Conflicts over Road Use in Britain, 1926-1935", *Transfers* 2, no. 3 (2012): 4-30, 11.

<sup>25</sup> Cox, personal communication, 2016; Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside*, 232.

<sup>26</sup> Cited in S.G. Jones, *Workers at Play: a social and economic history of leisure 1918-1939* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 65.

<sup>27</sup> Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside*, 152.

<sup>28</sup> Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside*, 246.

<sup>29</sup> D. Prynn, "The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain since the 1890s", *Journal of Contemporary History* 11, no. 2/3 (1976): 65-77.

<sup>30</sup> Jones, *Sport, politics and the working class*, 32.

<sup>31</sup> Jones, *Sport, politics and the working class*, 64. The references given at the footnote for this claim do not appear to support it.

<sup>32</sup> Item 391, General Development Committee minutes, London, November, 1937 (Y700003-5).

<sup>33</sup> *Rucksack* 6, no. 1 (1938), 1 (Y500001).

<sup>34</sup> Cunningham, "Ethos and Politics", 187. That there is no reference to the YHA in S. Barton, *Working-class organisations and popular tourism, 1840-1970* (Manchester: Manchester

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University Press, 2005) may support the claim that its membership was principally lower-middle class.

<sup>35</sup> Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, 24.

<sup>36</sup> H. Maurice-Jones and L. Porter, *Eighty Years of Youth Hostelling* (London: YHA, 2010), 11.

<sup>37</sup> T. A. Leonard, "The Freedom of the Hills", *Rucksack* 5, no. 2 (1937) (Y500001). Leonard was the son of a watch and clock maker. His mother, widowed young, ran a boarding house. He was a Congregationalist minister before being involved full-time in holiday organisations and became a Quaker after the First World War.

<sup>38</sup> H. Briercliffe, "Youth Hostel Touring for Cyclists", *CTC Gazette*, September, 1933; Maurice-Jones and Porter, *The Spirit of YHA*, 25.

<sup>39</sup> Cambridge and District Region, 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Report, year ending 30/9/38, 1938 (Y210038); East Anglia Region, Annual Report, 1939 (Y220039); London Region, Annual Report, 1939 (Y235001).

<sup>40</sup> North Midlands Region, 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Report to 1/10/35, 1935 (Y250035); North Midlands Region, 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Report, year ending, 30/9/37, 1937 (Y250037/B).

<sup>41</sup> Trentmann, "Civilization and its Discontents."

<sup>42</sup> Trentmann, "Civilization and its Discontents", 587; R. Snape, "The Co-operative Holidays Association and the Cultural Formation of Countryside Leisure Practice", *Leisure Studies* 23, no. 2 (2004): 143-158.

<sup>43</sup> Snape, "The Co-operative Holidays Association", 147.

<sup>44</sup> T. A. Leonard, letter in *Rucksack* 5, no. 2 (1937) (Y500001); Leonard, "The Freedom of the Hills".

<sup>45</sup> W. Temple, foreword, YHA Handbook, 1934 (Y430001).



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- <sup>46</sup> W. Temple, address to National Council, York, 1939, emphasis added (Y700003-7).
- <sup>47</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *Clio, a Muse: and other essays literary and pedestrian* (London: Longmans, 1914).
- <sup>48</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, Foreword, YHA Handbook, 1931 (Y430001).
- <sup>49</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, address to National Council, Oxford, 1936 (Box 92 of Herbert Gatliff Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford).
- <sup>50</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, "Men and Mountains", *Rucksack* 4, no. 3 (1936) (Y500001).
- <sup>51</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, address to National Council, London, 1938 (Y700003-5).
- <sup>52</sup> H. H. Symonds, "On Mountain Waking", *Rucksack* 2, no. 2 (1934), 17 (Y500001).
- <sup>53</sup> M. J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- <sup>54</sup> A complete set of 1930s Handbooks and *Rucksack* are held at the Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.
- <sup>55</sup> C. Fisher "Kit on the Yo-Ho Trail", *Rucksack* 1, no. 3 (1933) (Y500001).
- <sup>56</sup> Editorial, *Youth Hosteller* 25, no. 1, 1957 (Y500001).
- <sup>57</sup> H. H. Symonds, "The Ways of Britain: 1. The Snowdon Circuit", *Rucksack* 1, no. 1 (1932) (Y500001).
- <sup>58</sup> *Rucksack* 1, no. 5 (1933), 71 (Y500001).
- <sup>59</sup> YHA. Item 12 (d), Executive Committee minutes, London, February 1933 (Y700003-1).
- <sup>60</sup> YHA. Item 287, Executive Committee Minutes, London, February, 1937 (Y700003-4).
- <sup>61</sup> YHA. Item 209, Executive Committee minutes, London, November 1936 (Y700003-4).
- <sup>62</sup> YHA. Item 246, Executive Committee minutes, London, January 1937 (Y700003-4).
- <sup>63</sup> YHA. Item 256, Hostel Management Committee, London, January, 1937 (Y700003-4).

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<sup>64</sup> Letter, *Rucksack* 6, no. 3 (1938), 75 (Y500001).

<sup>65</sup> This is based on analysis of the press cuttings collection in the Cadbury Research Library (Y550001).

<sup>66</sup> Cunningham, "Ethos and Politics".

<sup>67</sup> YHA. Item 227, Finance Committee minutes, London, November, 1938 (Y700003-6).

<sup>68</sup> YHA. Item 395, Executive Committee minutes, London, February, 1939 (Y700003-6).

<sup>69</sup> T. Stephenson, *Forbidden Land: The Struggle for Access to Mountain and Moorland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside*.

<sup>70</sup> H. Gatliff, "Co-operation with other (non YHA) Bodies". YHA London Regional Group, 1938 (Y236001-4).

<sup>71</sup> Taylor described the NCU as 'racing-oriented' but notes that the distinction between touring and racing was not absolute (Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside*, 232-233).

<sup>72</sup> YHA. Executive Committee. M77 'YHA: Amendments to the Constitution.' London, January, 1933 (Y700003-1).

<sup>73</sup> YHA Annual Report, 1937, 21 (Y440001).

<sup>74</sup> J. Major, "The Early Years", *Rucksack* 18, no. 4, 1950 (Y500001).

<sup>75</sup> *CTC Gazette*, August, 1931, 250.

<sup>76</sup> Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story*, 24.

<sup>77</sup> H. Gatliff "National Representative's Report", NEC, March 1954 (Box 75 of Herbert Gatliff Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

<sup>78</sup> N. Whall, letter to Gatliff, 3 May 1937 (Box 108 of Herbert Gatliff Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

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<sup>79</sup> W. Oakley, *Winged Wheel: the history of the first hundred years of the Cyclists' Touring Club* (Godalming: CTC, 1977), 55-56. It cost 1s. (5p.) per night to stay at a Youth Hostel while the average price for a night at a B and B was 2s. 6d. (12 1/2p.).

<sup>80</sup> *CTC Gazette*, February, 1931, 44.

<sup>81</sup> *Rucksack* 2, no. 1 (1934), 41 (Y500001).

<sup>82</sup> *Rucksack* 7, no. 1 (1939), 6 (Y500001).

<sup>83</sup> *CTC Gazette*, August, 1931, 272. "Doss-houses" were cheap lodgings, often used by vagrants.

<sup>84</sup> *CTC Gazette*, January, 1933, 22.

<sup>85</sup> Birmingham YHA: annual report and accounts, year ending 30/9/34, 1934 (Y206004-1).

<sup>86</sup> Publicity Committee minutes, Birmingham YHA, 1/7/37 (Y206005-1).

<sup>87</sup> Regional Handbook Sub-committee meeting, London Regional Group, 10/9/37 (Y236001-3).

<sup>88</sup> Cunningham, "Ethos and Politics"; Freeman, "Fellowship, service and the 'spirit of adventure'".

<sup>89</sup> *Rucksack* 7, no. 2 (1939), 2 (Y500001).

<sup>90</sup> H. J. Hammett, "Cyclists and Walkers", *Rucksack* 6, no. 4 (1938), 110 (Y500001).

<sup>91</sup> *Rucksack* 7, no. 2 (1939), 16 (Y500001).

<sup>92</sup> *CTC Gazette*, September, 1931, 303.

<sup>93</sup> *CTC Gazette*, November, 1931, 363.

<sup>94</sup> *CTC Gazette*, December, 1931, 404.